

*Three Documents relating to the History of Ladakh: Tibetan Text,
Translation and Notes.—By the late DR. KARL MARX,
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(Read January, 1894.)

*Introductory remark by the Rev. Dr. Gustaf Dalman,
of Leipzig, Germany.*

Under the above title, in Vol. LX of this *Journal*, ante, p. 97–135, there was published only the first of those Three Documents, with an ‘Introduction.’ Dr. Karl Marx, my ever-lamented brother, who was born at Niesky, in Silesia, a province of Prussia, on January 9, 1857, and died on May 29, 1891, at Leh, was no more alive, when this first part of his paper came out. He left behind him a translation of what he called the B-MS. in his Introduction, beginning with king De-ldan-nam-gyal, and of the first part of C-MS. from the same point of the history. His intention was (*vide* Vol. LX, p. 100), in his next publication to commence with this De-ldan-nam-gyal, and to take for its basis ‘the rest of B-MS. with such additions as may be derived from C-MS.’ In a third publication he intended to give the second part of C-MS. For this last one, however, no translation has been found among his papers. I hope, the friends of the history of Ladakh will be thankful to get at least the translation from B-MS., designed for the second publication, together with some additions from the translation of the first part of C-MS., chosen by me as the present editor, who only feels too much that he cannot supply the place of the Author.

(Seng-gc-nam-gyal.) His sons were: De-ldan-nam-gyal, Indra-Bhodhi-nam-gyal, (and) De-ch’og-nam-gyal. (These) three were born.

(XXIII) *De-ldan-nam-gyal* was made king. Indra-Bhodhi-nam-gyal was admitted (to the brotherhood of Lamas) at Stag-na, by the Ch’os-jc Mug-dzin, and came to be the most prominent amongst the disciples of Stag-(ts’ang) ras-(ch’en). At the time of the erection of the He-mi and T’eg-ch’og-(Lamaseries), he acted as superior (? super-

intended the building), and became the most excellent amongst the clericals who delight in the doctrine. He was made ruler of Gu-ge. To the youngest son De-ch'og-nam-gyal, Spi-ti and Zangs-kar were allotted as his portion; he ruled there. De-ldan-nam-gyal resided in Ru-t'og in summer, and in Ladakh in winter. He united under his sway (all the country) from Pu-rig to the Mar-yum pass. In memory of his father, he erected at Sheh an image of (Shākya-) T'ub-pa,¹ made of copper and gilt, three storeys high; also a Chorten, five storeys high, of which the thirteen wheels,² the canopy and the crowning-piece³ were again made of copper and gilt. In memory of his mother he built at the head of the Te-war-gerge⁴ a Ma-ñi-ring-mo,⁵ at either end a Chorten, one of the Great-Jang-ch'ub-, the other of the Great-Nam-gyal-(type).⁶ (Also) at Leh-palace he put up an image of Shākya-T'ub-pa out of copper and gilt, and two storeys high. As it had been customary with his father, so he likewise appointed permanently for Nub-ra, Zangs-k'ar, Bab-go, Ting-gang, and other places 108 Lamas each, who were to perform the 100 millions of O-maṇi-padme-huñ-incantations there once a year. Furthermore, for the sake of his own reputation with posterity he erected at Leh an image of Chan-ras-zig⁶ out of copper and gilt, two storeys high, an assembly-hall, and a silver-Chorten two storeys high.

At that time, he appointed his minister Shākya-gya-ts'o Field-marshal. In the female Water-Ox-year the Ladakh army took the field. Many men and women of Kar-bu they carried away captive. He-na-ku and Stag-tse were reduced and brought into subjection. Next, Chig-dan and Sha-kar were taken (broken). Then he led his army on to Sod-pa-sa-ri; he took Sod-castle, and (also) gathered in the harvest of the fields. On his way back, he sent his army against Sum-t'ang and conquered it, then attacked Kar-tse and again was victorious. He brought with him the chieftain (of that place) T'i-Sultān. In the male

¹ Buddha. The image is still there, and the Chorten as well.

² In Ladakh, wherever they are, there are always 13 of these wheels, but many Chortens are entirely without these. They are almost always red, and decrease in size from below upwards, so as to form a slender cone. In this case they are of copper and gilt. I believe their number is in some way connected with Shamanism. Radloff, in speaking of the Shamanists in Siberia, mentions (if I remember right, the book is not within my reach at present) 13 worlds, through which the man who strives to obtain perfection has to press upwards.

³ The top-ornament of the Chorten, like a large open flower (lotus), is called Zarrazag.

⁴ Gorge is half-way between Leh and the bridge. (Road to Tshushod.)

⁵ 'Long Maṇi,' in contradistinction from the 'round Maṇi,' the Maṇi driven by waters and others. This is the most conspicuous Maṇi in the whole country.

⁶ There are eight types of Chortens. The Jang-ch'ub is distinguished by square-steps, the Nam-gyal by circular steps.

Wood-Tiger-year he marched against K'a-pu-lu and conquered Ch'or-bar and T'or-tse-k'ar. These districts he apportioned to He-tan-khān (and) Sultān-khān, these three (?). The chieftain of Skar-do and all the Baltis were unanimous in their complaints to the Nawāb (of these high-handed proceedings). (Consequently), an army of Turks numbering 200,000 men arrived at Pa-sa-ri, but the minister Dug-nam-gyal of Ladakh and the forces occupying (the castle) delivered a battle against the Turkish army and killed many Turks. They took away their flags and kettle-drums and (thus) carried off a complete victory over the enemy.

His son was (XXIV) *Lha-ch'en-de-legs-nam-gyal*.

At his time the Bhutān state and the Bod-pa had a dispute. Now, the (pope of) Bhutān was the patron-Lama of the king of Ladakh. (Hence), the latter sent a letter to Tibet, saying, that he was prepared to take up his quarrel. The Bod-pa carefully considered the matter: "Supposing," they said, "the king's succour should arrive here first, it would no doubt be in accordance with the king's name, a nice affair indeed. Would it not, therefore, be well to raise an army (here) first?" To this suggestion they all agreed.

There happened to be at that time at Ga-ldan-Lamasery a Lama, a Mongol, called Tsang. The calculations pointed out him (as the destined leader). He, accordingly, turned layman, and heading the Mongol tribe and a powerful army of Bod-pa he (soon) reached (Ladakh). At the commencement (of actual warfare) it came to an engagement at Zha-mar-ting.¹ In time, the Mongol army arrived at Bab-go. The king then stayed at Ting gang castle, whilst the Ladakh captain and a garrison held Bab-go castle. Although they succeeded in holding their own for three years, yet they were unable to drive the Mongol army back again. So the king of Ladakh despatched a messenger to the Nawwāb of Kashmir. (The desired object was obtained :) an immense army appeared on the scene. A battle ensued on the Ja-gyal plain near Bab-go. The Bod army was routed; they left behind them a large quantity of armour, bows, and arrows. Their rout continued until they reached Spe-t'ub. The Mongol army in their flight (eventually) reached Ta-shis-gang. There they built a fort, shut it in with a wall, and surrounded it with water. Into (the fort) soldiers were placed to occupy it.

Upon this, the De-pa-zhung,² apprehending that (now after all) the king of Ladakh might come and bring succour, and that thus (may be)

¹ Halfway between Ta-shis-gang and Garkun-sa (Walker's map).

² The name of the palace of the Dalai-Lama has usually the meaning of the 'Supreme Government.'

another war might ensue, desired the Dug-pa Omniscient (Mi-pa'm-wang-po) to go and negotiate for peace. In compliance with his injunctions the Dug-pa Omniscient (undertook the journey) and arrived at Ting-gang. Simultaneously some other messengers of the Bod-pa reached there as well. (The result of their deliberations was as follows:—)¹

“The Bod-pa have come to consider that: whereas Tibet is a Buddhistic and Kāçmīr a non-Buddhistic country; and whereas Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic religions have nothing in common and are hostile to each other: (it follows, that) if at the frontier the king of Ladakh does not prosper, Bod also cannot enjoy prosperity.” (This being so), the occurrences of the recent war should be considered things of the past.” The king, (on the other hand), undertook in future to keep watch at the frontier of Buddhistic and non-Buddhistic (Faith), and out of regard for the doctrine of Sangs-gyas would not allow the army from India to proceed to an attack (upon Bod).—(As to) merchandise in demand in Kāçmīr (the following agreement was come to): the fine-wool of Nga-ris-skor-sum shall not be sold to any other country; that the price of fine and coarse wool mixed shall be fixed at eighty Nyag² to two Rupees, to be paid in both money and kind; that the Jang(-t'ang) people shall not be allowed to use the Nyag of the people of the (Indus-) gorge; that it shall not be said of the wool of Jang (-t'ang) men that it contains soil, (or) stones, (or) moisture; also that to Rut'og itself none but the court-merchant³ shall be admitted. Regarding the fine-wool-(trade): four Kāçmīrī merchants shall reside at Spe-t'ub and do the trading with the Kāçmīrīs of Kāçmīr; this shall be the only way by which it shall go to Kāçmīr. No Kāçmīrī of Kāçmīr shall be allowed to go to Jang-t'ang. Those Ladakh-Kāçmīrīs, who go to Jang-t'ang, shall not be allowed themselves to go down to Kāçmīr with loads of fine-wool. Regarding Nga-ris-skor-sum Mi-p'am-wang-po's stipulations were to this effect: it shall be set apart to meet the expenses of sacred lamps and prayers (offered) at Lha-sa, but at Menseser the king shall be his own master, so that the kings of Ladakh may have wherewithal to pay for lamps and other sacrifices at the Kailāsa and the lake; it shall be his private domain. With this exception, the boundary shall be fixed at the Lha-ri stream at De-ch'og.—From Tibet the Government trader shall come with two-hundred loads of tea, and nowhere but by Ladakh shall rectangular tea-bricks be sent across the frontier. Should the Government trader fail to come every year, then the

¹ The treaty is still in force to this day, only a few slight alterations in favour of Ladakh have been made.

² 12 Nyag = 1 Batti (4 lb.).

³ From Ladakh.

above stipulations shall no longer be binding. The king of Ladakh, (on the other hand,) shall send [once in three years] a Mission conveying presents to the clergy of Bod. As regards presents to ordinary Lamas the quality (and quantity) is not fixed, but to the La-brang steward¹ shall be given: 10 Zho² of gold,³ 10 shang of scent, 6 pieces of calico, (and) 1 piece of soft cotton-cloth. (Again) throughout their sojourn (the members of the Mission) shall receive daily rations. For the road (shall be supplied:) (beasts of burden to carry) 200 loads,⁴ 15 baggage ponies, and 10 riding-ponies; (and) three men to act as groom, cook, and servant; private ponies shall have fodder as much as they like, (also) for the steppe-districts: One large tent, (and) small tents for the leader, the head-cook (and) the treasurer, etc. The pony-loads shall be carried along by double stages, and further on, from district to district both going and coming. It also had been stipulated that with every Mission one of the three provinces should be made over (to Lha-sa), but the king entered a request with the De-pa-zhung that he, begging to disagree with Mi-p'am-wang-po's decision, would prefer to renounce his rights to the provinces entirely, if they would give to Mi-p'am-wang-po in the room of Ngāris-skor-sum three districts in Bod itself. Accordingly the De-pa-zhung made over to Mi-p'am-wang-po three villages."⁵

Then also the king of Ladakh had to send [his wife and children to Kāçmīr to stay there as hostages for three years], and along with them 18 piebald ponies, 18 pods of musk (and) 18 white yāk-tails, whilst it was also settled, that the 500 bags of rice, being the revenue accruing to the king of Ladakh from his Jagīr Na-gu-shar should (regularly) every year be sent up from Kāçmīr.—This rice ceased to be sent since the Ladakh empire was overthrown by the Sikhs.—Other-

¹ An official of the Dalai Lama, see Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, II, p. 334.

² 'Delicate pair of scales,' gold-weights.

³ Manuscript C here inserts '10 rose-fruit-weights of gold,' *i. e.*, the weight of the red fruit of the ordinary *Rosa canina*.

⁴ Now 260 loads.

⁵ In Manuscript C there are 9 articles of this treaty. Article 1 is altogether wanting in Manuscript B —Articles 8 and 9 are slightly altered. We therefore give them here. I. As in the beginning the king Skyid-lde-nyi-ma-gon (*vide* Vol. LX, p. 114) gave to each of his sons a separate kingdom, the same (delimitations) shall obtain now.—8. Ru-t'og, Gu-ge elī shall be annexed to Lha-sa in order (that from the revenue derived from these districts) the expenses of sacrificial lamps and (of the reading of) prayers may be defrayed.—9. Mon-ts'er (near the holy lakes,—not on Walker's map) shall remain a domain of the king himself, whereof he shall be sole lord (and master). The revenue (of Mon-ts'er district) shall (in part) be used to pay for sacrificial lamps at the Kailāsa and the Lakes.

wise prosperity was soon restored. The king indeed, in all his doings, had none to surpass him, and State and Church both made progress.

His sons were Lha-ch'en-nyi-ma-nam-gyal and Ngag-wang-nam-gyal, Wang-ch'ug-nam-gyal, Ga-ldan-nam-gyal; of these 5 (*sic!*) brothers (XXV) *Nyi-ma-nam-gyal* was made King. In accordance with the rule, to act on the principles as described in the biographies of the ancient Kings of the Faith, he lauded the virtuous and suppressed evil-doers, etc. In pronouncing judgment, also, he never merely followed his own desires, but (always) in the first place, consulted his state-officers. He appointed elders of superior intelligence from every village to assist him, and such as wanted his decision in rescripts, questions relating to field or house-(property) he did not leave at the mercy of interlopers or partial advisers, but having instituted (the councils of) state-officers and elders, he introduced the oath on the (three) symbols, (and defined the rule) that first the primary origin (of any dispute) must be traced, and then found out what verdict is to be given. This edict surpasses in excellence any of those that were passed by all the dynastic kings (of Tibet).—This same King of the Faith presented to all the Colleges in Bod, but especially to Lha-sa and Sam-yas, and similar Lamaseries, gold-water (and) sacrificial lamps. To all the great Lamas without distinction he made presents, whilst the brotherhoods were invited to Tea-generals. (Also) the Congregations that were under his own sway received honours without distinction. (He erected) images of the Lha, that he himself worshipped, out of gold and silver, (caused) holy books (to be written, and built) the Za-nang-Maṅi-ring-mo.¹ Printing-blocks of Dharaṇī of different kinds, such as were used at the erection of the symbols of Body, Word, and Spirit, were engraved (*e.g.*), of the Jam-dud-zang-sum, Jam-yangs-stod-pa-gang-lo-mon-lam, Shes-ja-k'a-yings, Ser-od-yang-skyabs, Ka-gyur-ro-chog, and the blocks of the Le-dun. All these having been satisfactorily completed, he distributed sacred books amongst all the laity. He (also had) a Maṅi-t'en-skor put up, made of gold, silver and copper. Again, amongst all the people there did occur neither strife, nor robbery, nor theft, it was a life passed in such happiness as that of a child with his fond mother.

After this when the king's wife had given birth to a son, Lha-ch'en-de-skyong-nam-gyal, she died. He afterwards married Zi-zi-k'a-t'un of Purig. She bore a son, Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal and a daughter Ṭa-shis-wang-mo; in all two children. Later on (XXVI) *De-skyong-nam-gyal* married Nyi-da-wang-mo of Lho-mon-dang,² and himself was appointed

¹ Near the Leh-bridge over the Indus. It is generally asserted that it was built by the Mongols, which is an error.

² A district in the south of Tibet proper, near Sikkim.

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to the Government. A son, Sa-skyong-nam-gyal, having been born, (the two), on account of disagreement of temper, separated, and the queen returned to the South. Subsequently he married another wife, and a son, P'un-t'sogs-nam-gyal, was born. The state-officials, council of elders, and the people, having entered a petition that Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal should be ordained and become a Lama, or else reside at Ting-gang-palace, the father, Nyi-ma-nam-gyal (himself), turned King of the Faith. The prince De-skyong-nam-gyal's mother having died whilst he was yet an infant, Zi-zi-k'a-t'un took care of him; consequently, whatever his dear mother said, was all right and could not be refused. So by persuasion the queen-mother (obtained it from him, that) Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal was appointed to rule from Po't'ok-sa over all Pu-rig. From Ngul-dog palace at Mul-bhe he built [the bridge?] He married a daughter of the Stog-ka-lon, but had no children. Princess Ṭa-shis-wang-mo was taken by the king of Kiṣṭwār as his consort. Although (everyone) prayed not to give her away, because the language as well as the religion of the people of Hindūstān were different, yet (the queen) said: a child's rulers are father and mother, and would not listen, but gave her away. (Soon after, however,) the steward, Gha-p'el, amongst others of his servants, informed the father that she was not even allowed to see the light of day, upon which (the king) ordered him to bring the girl back by fair means or foul, and despatched an army. When the girl was being carried off, the king and queen of Kiṣṭwār, who were both very fond of her, said: "Let us also go to Ladakh." With the captain and a few attendants they got under weigh. But Zi-zi-k'a-t'un here (in Ladakh) gave secret orders to this effect: "If the king of Kiṣṭwār should arrive here, and not be killed in some clever way (beforehand), then it might injure my son Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal's rule (over Pu-rig)."—So without the knowledge of the authorities at Ladakh, a servant of the queen went (on his errand), and at a bridge on the frontier, between Kiṣṭwār and Paldar, the servant approaching the king in the manner of one who has a petition, threw the king into the water. The fatal rumour soon spread all over the country.

Although Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal and the elder son Sa-skyang ought to have been made Lords of the Palace, the younger brother P'un-ts'ogs-nam-gyal, through treachery of his mother, made him (Sa-skyang) Lama at Hemi. (XXVII) *P'un-ts'ogs-nam-gyal* reigned; but his uncle Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal tyrannized the Kashmīr traders and his Ladakh subjects. From this resulted a quarrel as to who really had the power. Now this state of things was reported to the Dalai Lama, viz., that a disturbance with the frontier king had arisen, and that this might be made an occasion for an Indian army to 'break out.' At that inden-

tical time, just when he was in contemplation as to whom amongst the *Kar-gyud-pa* Lamas he should give the order to act as peace-maker, it happened that the great *Ka-tóg*¹ *Rig-dzin*² *Táe-wang-nor-bu* arrived from *Kamś* on his way (to *Nepāl*), where he intended to exchange the Wood of Life on the great Chorten of *Nepāl*. The *Gyalwa-Omniscient* sent word to the Great *Rig-dzin*: “You should undertake to go and make peace in *Ladakh*”. He, magnifying openly the word of the *Gyalwa*, promised to go to *Ladakh*. He arrived at *Gar*. There, following the suggestion of king *Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal* and his ministers, the Lord Chamberlain and the *Lonpas* from *Zangskar* and *Ḍangskar* attended. They had been sent to meet the Saviour, the Great *Rig-dzin*. They explained to him the condition of Upper and Lower *Ladakh*. Thereupon he arrived with messengers of the two *Gar-spon* at *Wamle* Lamasery. There he and the king and ministers of *Ladakh* met. In time also the king and ministers of *Purig* arrived, and the proceedings began. They all agreed to the decisions and obligations imposed upon them by the Saviour, the Great *Rig-dzin*. The results arrived at through these deliberations were: “Whatever the number of sons born at *Ladakh-Kár* may be, the eldest only shall reign. The younger ones shall become Lamas at *Spe-t’ub*, *Ṭis-tse*, etc, but there shall be no two kings. The king of *Zangskar*, being (?) at the frontier against *Hindūstān*, shall remain king as before. The *He-na-ku* (rulers), obviously being of royal descent, and their kingdom of little importance, shall also remain as before. With these two exceptions it shall not be permitted that in one kingdom exist two kings.” In accordance with these decisions the son (XXVIII) *Ts’e wang-nam-gyal* was elected king. *P’un-ts’ogs-nam-gyal*, mother and son equally divided the property in *Le-k’ar* and appropriated it. They afterwards resided at *Ser-ṭ’i-k’ar* (*Bang-k’a*). *Sa-skyang* entered at *Hemi* the order of the *Rig-pa-dzin-pa* and the queen *Kun-zoru* bore (him?) a son *Skyab-gongyal-skas-mi-p’am-t’sé-wang-ṭ’in-los*. Clerical authority increased. Another son was born, and became very clever in medicine; he went to *Lhasa*. There (also) was a daughter. She was taken to *Tibet* as a wife of a *Hor-k’ang-sar*³. The king *Ṭa-shis-nam-gyal*, as long as he lived, remained ruler of *Purig*. Afterwards it was united with *Ladakh*.

By this settlement and agreement all the noblemen and the council of elders⁴ and merchants first, but the whole empire as well, were ren-

¹ District in *Tibet*.

² Name of the order of married Lamas.

³ Name of an important family at *Lha-sa*.

⁴ The lowest grade of councillors to the king in *Ladakh* polity. The ‘Council of Elders’ consisted of about 3 or 4 persons of some standing and experience,

dered happy and contented. The princes were reconciled, and Lamas and Lords (? the highest Lords) went to Shal-k'ar.

At that time messengers of the Nawwāb of Kāçmīr arrived with the request, that the Abhit'ang should be cleared of water. On the occasion when the messengers had their audience, through a blessing, from one silver tea-pot tea was poured out to all the men who took part in the banquet. The messengers believed and went home.

After that, the great Rig-dzin deposited one copy of the settlement at Lel-k'ar, one at Mul-bhe-kar, one in Zangs-k'ar, and one in Hemis Lamasery, and thereupon he again returned to Bod.

Later on a wife was sought for Ts'e-wang-nam-gyal from Zang-la-k'ar.¹ About that time it happened that the Evil One entered the king's mind, and giving way to the influence of bad servants, he took a Bhe-mo² to his royal chambers. The Zang-la queen consequently returned to Zang-la and became the wife of the king of Zangs-k'ar. His doings were not as before, unusual and strange; and he had for 500 horses one groom each, and a lamp (at night) in grander style; the horses' feet and genitals, (?), etc., were paid much attention to. The princes, (nobles) and the people could not endure such doings (for long), and once when the king, through his royal prestige, made the taxes payable by the people three times (in one year), they dismissed the Stok-ka-lon³ office and evicted the Bhemo. Then they asked Bhe-k'yim-wangmo of Sod⁴ to become queen. She had three daughters and two sons. The name of the elder son was Lha-ch'en-mi-gyur-ts'e-stan-nam-gyal; of the younger one, Ts'e-pal-mi-gyur-don-dub-nam-gyal. The lesser queen K'a-t'un-ts'e-ring had one son, Jigs-med-nam-gyal. Then the king died. As the sons were yet minors, the Hemi-Sku-cho'g took counsel with the princes and the nobles, and asked on behalf of the prince (XXIX) *Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal* for a queen at Pal-k'yum-k'ar⁵ in Purig. The prince Don-dub became Lama at Hemis. The son of K'a-t'un-ts'e-ring became Lama at T'i-tse. One daughter was given in marriage at Pal-k'yum-k'ar, another to Ka-lon-Ts'e-wang-don-dub, the

especially elected. The 2nd grade were the hereditary Lon-pos, also a small number, the 1st grade, the Ka-lons, likewise 4 or 5 only, and also hereditary.

¹ In Zangsk'ar. Drew's map: Zang-la.

² A woman of the lowest cast, Muhammadan, *masc.* Bhe-da. According to manuscript C she was from Tsang-ra (in Pu-rig).

³ Stok, village opposite Leh, south of the Indus. The king of Ladakh usually resides at Stok, where he has a fine palace, which he keeps in excellent repair. To this palace the king seems to have taken the Bhe-mo, and the Ka-lon probably connived.

⁴ In Pu-rig.

⁵ Near Kargil.

third went and stayed as ? ?. Afterwards, when the king Ts'e-wang-(stan) nam-gyal was grown up, his personal appearance was like that of a Lha. He was diligent and obtained proficiency in Tibetan grammar and mathematics, Persian letters and speech, Kāçmīr speech, and other such languages.¹ In memory of his father he built the Kyin-mañi-ring-mo² with Chortens at either end of the great Nam-gyal and the Jang-ch'ub types. He also knew well how to govern. But in a neighbouring district some "defect" became apparent, and in consequence of want of merit in the people an epidemic of small-pox broke out, and he died in his 24th year at Kar-zu.³ Then the Dug-pa Omniscient Kun-zigs-ch'os-kyi-ñang-wa⁴, being present at Hemi Lama-sery, performed the funeral rites in grand style.

Thereupon (XXX) *Ts'e-pal-mi-gyur-don-dub-nam-gyal* of Hemi was induced to turn layman, and was invested with royal power, and administered his kingdom, after having in common with the former as wife the Pal-kyum lady. During Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal's lifetime one daughter was born. With this king a daughter Bhil-ch'ung, and a prince Ts'e-wang-rab-stan-nam-gyal were born. Through the activity of the Kalon T'se-wang-don-dub provinces and frontiers, everybody living in affluence, and works that were all and one on the side of virtue, enjoyed peace and happiness. Then, at one time, some deleterious influence took possession of the king's mind. All the servants in his presence were upstarts, and with them he took counsel. In the country many fields and houses 'went wrong.' In judgment also he regarded (the face of) riches and of men. The private servants in the palace also had to promise daily not to sleep at night. The king also did not sleep at night. He rose when the sun grew hot. In the morning when washing his hands, he required 413 buckets⁵ (?) full of cold and hot

¹ Manuscript C adds: he was devout and knew well the duties of kings. Before the enemy he was fearless. His solicitude for the welfare of his people was (exceedingly) great. Between himself and another he saw no difference. As there, thus far, had been no principle regulating taxes and revenue, he (made a rule) that henceforth taxes should be raised only (in accordance with the income), measure for measure.

² Opposite Leh. At its foot is the Muhammadan grave-yard.

³ Now the British Joint Commissioner's compound (at Leh).

⁴ According to manuscript C king Ts'e-stan-nam-gyal in his lifetime had made him, when he came to Hemis, a present of 50 ponies, 50 yák-bulls and cows, 1,000 goats and sheep, 25 ingots of silver, 3,000 Nānak-Shāhī Rupees, 100 Zhos of gold one string of coral-beads, 15 pieces of brocade, 1 piece of red broadcloth, 1 piece of yellow (broadcloth), 25 pieces of calico, 25 pieces of silk taffeta (handkerchiefs?), etc.

⁵ According to manuscript C 12 or 13 basins.

water mixed to wash his hands. When he travelled about in the provinces, he went at night with lamps and torches (?). With the men of the old regime he could not agree. He took the Privy Seal from the Kalon to the palace. The king himself, and the head-men of villages, Lords, etc., all new-fashioned men, took counsel with each other. The noble families he did not attend to. The king of Zangs-k'ar and the Pu-rig Ka-lon he kept in prison. The new-fashioned servants that stood before him he made governors of the palace, and everywhere the old customs were destroyed.

At that time, having passed through Nyungti and Gar-zha, the Barā Ṣāhib and the Chōṭā Ṣāhib, with great wealth, came to Leh. They gave all sorts of rich presents to the noblemen of Ladakh and others. "We must see the king" they said, "what evil there is in Indians, one cannot know," was all that was said in reply, and an audience for consultation was refused for several months. At last they saw the king. They presented a pen-knife, scissors, a gun, and a variety of things, but the best were a pen-knife, scissors and a gun. They said: "We have come to see the way in which your ministers and people are 'carrying it on,' and your Majesty's wisdom, and as there is a likelihood of this country being conquered, if we built a tower (fort) here, it would prove useful to the king." The king and ministers, in considering the case, said: "If they build a fort, no one knows, what means of doing harm it may be," and did not allow them to build the fort. Then they gave him (the king) a letter in a box and said: "Accept this; it may cure the king's mind!" They stayed through both summer and winter and then departed. These were the first European Ṣāhibs who came.

Thereupon the army of Nyung-ti invaded Spi-ti and after having destroyed the villages and carried away all the property, they returned home. They petitioned (the king) that he should wage a war of revenge, but he said: "You have not tried your best," and punished them.

Later on, the Nyung-ti and Gar-zha conspired against Zangs-k'ar, and laid waste Pal-dum-k'ar and the central districts. The symbols of Body, Word and Spirit they destroyed. Ponies and Yaks, whatever there was of mammon, they robbed, and again returned home. Later on, Paldar brought the Sher army of Ratanpas (?). From A-ring to Pa-dum every village they destroyed. Throughout Kar-sha and the central districts, on both sides of the river, they fought, and although afterwards a peace was made and they went back, yet the king said: "You Zangs-kar people have not tried your best," and punished them. One year later a Man-de and Wa-ran army came and devastated Upper Zangs-k'ar up to Dung-ring. They burnt the villages with fire; what of wealth and cattle they got they carried back with them.

But he (the king) did neither see nor perceive, and he never asked whether they fared well or ill; he took interest in what concerned his own pocket only. At that time that treasure (?) (had increased so much) that it was beyond redressing. The king as a memorial for himself built the new palace of Stok. At the Kar-zru at Leh he built a palace and a K'a-t'un-bhan — — (?). The queen sent a messenger to Tibet to ask for a wife for her — (?) prince from there. He addressed himself to the Sde-pa at Lha-gya-ri. The same intended to make it her (his) residence, and therefore built at Leh the new palace above the Lamasery of Chan-ras-zigs. In the end, however, through some misfortune happening in Tibet, the Lha-ri girl could never be asked to come here. The king erected an image of his own patron deity, Ch'ag-na-dorje, in size like the king himself, made of timber of gold-willow up to the throat, that was of silver. He also erected a Chorten of silver, adorned with copper and gold and precious stones, one story high.

In the Water-tiger year (1782) he erected in the Upper Banqueting Hall an image of the Guru Padma-od-bar, made of 13 maunds of silver. In Shel he erected a Ts'e-pag-med, out of 7 maunds of silver. At Stok palace he erected an image of the queen White Dolma Kar (?) out of 9 maunds of silver.

Then after a while in the Wood-ox year (1805) the Master of Perfect Insight, Yang-dzin-nga-pa, realized that the prince was an incarnation of the Hemi Sku-ch'og Bhil-wa dorje, [or: the Yang-dzin-nga-pa, said, "that the prince was etc."; after having obtained perfect insight he cared only for himself] he then stayed at both Hemi and T'eg-ch'og. Having thus become so important a personage, he found it difficult to obey father and mother. The queen travelled in Nubra, Purig and Ladakh, never remaining at one and the same place. She also asked the prince to join her and took him with her. 'It is for the prince's amusement,' she said, and they passed their time, both day and night, with dancing and singing. What the king said, he did not account for much, but he listened to what the queen's own steward, Sod-nam-wang-ch'ug, told him. The prince Ch'og-skul took their part.

The king and ministers and others for some time had attempted to induce him for the sake of the dynasty to marry, but he would not. He replied: "I have to be at Hemi," and would not relent. But as there was no other son, the king, minister, lords, council of elders, and the steward of the twin (reciprocal) Lamaseries, Dub-ch'en-a-tsar, and others, making intercession, and in order to preserve the dynasty, he (consented and) married the younger daughter of the Ka-lan T'se-wang-don-dub, Skal-zang-dol-ma by name. Before one year had elapsed

the princess conceived. He afterwards married yet another lady, the T'sun-mo Pal-Kyid of Pal-kyum, and yet a third, Zora-k'a-t'un. It was in the Water-horse year (1822) that he took these three wives, and it was in the same Water-horse year also, that the king of Jammū's, Gulāb Singh's Wazīr, Zōrāwar, with some Ra-ya-si-yi, arrived in Kar-t'se. The Ladakh captain and army were sent. At Kar-tse they met and three engagements ensued, in which many sipoys were killed. Immediately a report was sent in (giving an account) of how matters stood, but the king and dowager-queen only replied: "If you don't do your best, you will be censured!" (or: If you do your best, you will not be censured!) kind words they gave none ("We will be gracious," they could not prevail upon themselves to say). Now as there was much snow in Pu-rig, and the Indians not accustomed to the cold, the Wazīr changed his mind and sent a messenger to the captain to say: "If you will give to the Mahārāja Gulāb Singh a present of about 10,000 Rupees, we will make peace and go back." Upon this the Ladakh Lon-po and captain of the army took council and they sent in a petition worded thus: "If the king should be kind enough to give this money, then his kindness really would betray true solicitude for his people. If not, then truly every one of the soldiers, as so many chickens (?) are assembled here, and stand praying before him (? and beg) that peace be made." The king also received (this message) graciously. He gave command that the sum should be paid from the Ka-wa-chu-pa treasury; but the queen's influence being the greater (the queen's counsel prevailing over his), it was impossible. He instead sent a rescript saying: "We do not see fit to give the money, and unless you bring Zōrāwar's head, neither head, nor life, nor fields, houses, property, or food will be left to you!" (When) the captains and soldiers (heard this message), their courage fell (heart failed them). Although they continued to fight, yet it was only a half-hearted sort of business. The captains also did no longer agree. When the next engagement came off, the Ya-ra-?-nu with 500 sipoys attacked the right wing of the Ladakh army. On the left wing the Ladakh men felt dejected and did not stir. A surprise force suddenly appeared on the scene and broke into their ranks. So the soldiers of all fled in confusion. The Stok Ka-lon, 18 years of age, who was at the head of the army, was shot by an unlooked-for arrow and died. The other head-captain Gyur-med and the Lonpo of Nubra survived. Now also the Leh-Lonpo Ngos-dub-stanzin, who commanded the right wing, gave way. After this, those of the nobility who had formerly been kept in prison by the king turned traitors. Showing the Wazīr the way they reached Basgo. The king also went there and they met. Although the Wazīr made it conditional

that 20 horsemen should come into Leh, yet altogether, though singly, about a hundred came. Having stayed there for seven days, during which time he also met the prince Ch'og-skul, they came to a mutual agreement, that to the Government the money should be paid as a present. Then they returned.

But the queen and the Bang-ka-pa (again played him foul) and did not pay the money. Their plan was to send an army in his rear, whilst he was still on his way back. But the Wazir heard of this treachery. By way of Rang-dum, Zangs-k'ar, and Gya he (suddenly) returned. The prince and queen fled, they passed through Dang-ts'e. The greater queen, having just been delivered of a son, was left behind in Shel-k'ar, but the two lesser queens went with the prince. By way of Wam-le they safely reached Spi-ti.
